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LORD DEPUTY OF IRELAND'S HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES.
(CIRCA, 1580.)

HAVING, in a previous Number, given an inventory of the effects of a Lord Deputy of Ireland in the sixteenth century, I now submit to the readers of this *Journal* an "estimate" of the household expenses connected with that high office about the same period. And I may observe that, without being so particularly inquisitive as the learned Rabbi El Bassam, the celebrated Hebrew commentator on the Talmud, who is said to have spent fifteen years in vainly endeavouring to discover the ingredients composing the red pottage for which the hungry and impatient Esau bartered his birthright, we may still have a natural curiosity respecting the vivers anciently consumed at the vice-regal court, and also their prices. "Show me what you eat, and then I will tell you what you are," is the literal rendering of an expressive French proverb common enough at the present day; and so may we, in like manner, form a good general idea of a Lord Deputy's household, in the sixteenth century, from the quantity and quality of the provisions consumed by it.

Whether from ignorance of the art of keeping accounts, the clumsy method then in vogue of reckoning by the assistance of counters,[a] or the prevalent practice of denoting numbers by the cumbrous—in the more intricate calculations utterly unmanageable—Roman letters; whether, I repeat, from one or all of these, or other causes,[b] this estimate, like most, or, indeed, I may say, all, of the ancient household account-books, exhibits frequent errors in computation, and even, in several instances, the sums total do not correspond with the enumeration of particulars. Yet,

[a] In an edition of Record's *Arithmetic*, published so late as 1658, the author gives instructions for calculating by counters, and says—"The feat with the counters would not only serve those who cannot read and write, but also for them that can do both, but have not at some time their pen or tables [tablets] ready with them." It will be remembered that Iago, speaking of "a great arithmetician, one Michael Cassia, a Florentine," contemptuously terms him a "counter-caster."

[b] It would almost seem that arithmetic was formerly looked down upon in scorn, as a very inferior or contemptible branch of human knowledge. [See the preceding note.] One Lawson, writing so late as 1680, and alluding to arithmetical science, says—"Any member of Italian Babylon with . . . fabulous legend; and Mahometan, with his dreggy Alcoran; any flint-hearted Jew, with his Talmud, a mingle-mangle of Jewish, divine, and humane matters; any dead, dry, unfruitful formalist may grow profound, exquisite, nimble—yea, though involved in the intricate windings of degeneration, out of the royal state of regeneration and heavenly transformation, may apprehend the feats, terms, and parts of this natural art [arithmetic], as digits, articles, mixed numbers, ciphers, terniries, golden rule direct, golden rule reverse, a cube, Pythagoras's table, algorism, etcetera, yet be strangers to the divine exercise which leads to the Lion of the tribe of Judah."—*A Mite into the Treasury, being a Word to Artists, especially to Heptatechnists.* London, 1680.

there is a shadow of excuse for its ancient compiler. From some other documents in the same hand-writing, bound up in the same volume, he appears to have been a herald, and, consequently, would be better acquainted with dragons *rouge* and griffins *vert*, than the less honorable, though more useful, "beeves" and "muttons," with *or* and *argent* as metals of blazon, than as a circulating medium of pounds and shillings. Dare I say, as another apology for his arithmetical blunders, that he was a dabbler in rhyme, and has handed down to us, in the following lines, the time and occasion

OF THE FOUNDATION OF HERAULDES.

"What tyme the worthie Alexander, at whose triumphant fame
The earth did shake, repayred to Inde for conquest of that same,
Then noble Porus, kinge thereof, whome to his ayde had there
Twice twenty kinges and hundreds four of beastes that towers did bear,
Who challenged Alexander, there, with shielde and speare in hande,
To try with him the victory, and that theire hostes shoulde stande;
And he that best behaved himselfe, and wonne the victorie,
Should vanquish others hoaste that daye and praised for chivalrye.
Which saying, when Alexander, by iuste reporte did knowe,
And how within his valient breste noe cowardness did growe;
Lord, how he joyed in Porus, then his marshall mynde did cease,
And saide, O seconde Alexander, thy courage yieldes the peace."

The "estimate," though not dated, was certainly written about 1580, and will be found among the Sloane MSS. (No. 1742) in the British Museum. To avoid typographical errors, and render the document intelligible to the general reader unversed in ancient accounts, I have reduced the complicated reckonings, by scores, dozens, &c., to simple numbers and plain pounds, shillings, and pence. I have also changed the Roman letters signifying numbers to the more modern Arabic numerals.[c] Where errors in computation seem mere slips of the pen—for example, where one figure or amount is evidently put in the place of another—I have corrected them; in other instances, I have let them remain as in the original.

[c] As an instance of the complication caused by the mixture of Roman and Arabic numerals, I may quote the following "example" from Record's *Arithmetic*:—"If I make this number, 91,359,684, at all adventures there are eight places. In the first place is 4, and betokeneth but four; in the second place is 8, and betokeneth ten times 8, that is 80; in the third place is 6, and betokeneth 600; in the fourth place, 9 is 9,000; and 5, in the fifth place, is XM times five, that is fifty M. So 3, in the sixth place, is CM times 3, that is CCCM. Then 1, in the seventh place, is one MM.; and 9, in the eighth, ten thousand thousand times 9, that is XCMM., *i.e.* XC. thousand thousand CCCLIX thousand, 684, that is VICLXXXiiij."

The above extract is from a school-book intended to teach children arithmetic! but those among us who are able to recollect *Gough* will not be much surprised.

"An Estimate of the Yerelie Expenses of the Lorde Deputie of Irelande for his House and Table with other extraordinarie Chardges, by good and perfect viewe of the Bookes kepte therof, as alsoe by the Experience and Judgements of them that have continuall dealinge therein.

In Beoves[d] by the week 10, over and above 40 beoves allowed for ffestival times, at 20s. ster. a peece—£500 in money, ...	£500	0	0
Muttons by the week 36, amountinge unto, per ann., to 1,700, at 2s. 8d., one with another, ...	226	13	4
Veales by the yere 70, at 6s. 8d., one with another, ...	24	6	8
Porkes by the yere 60, at 6s. 8d., one with another, ...	20	0	0
Brawnes[e] by the yere 6, at 20s. a peece, one with another, ...	6	0	0
All kindes of ffresh Acates,[f] as ffoule, wylde and tame, pig, lambe, rabbetts, eggs, sweete butter, ffresh ffyshe, etcet., by the weeke in estimacion, £7—per annum, ...	364	0	0
White lightes, 214 dosen per ann., at 3s. a dosen, ...	32	2	0
Sturbridge[g] linge, 100, at 6s. 8d. the couple, one with another,[h]	20	0	0

d Beeves.

e Fat hogs.

f From the French *achats*, and signifying articles purchased for the daily use of a house, in contradistinction to those supplied by purveyors.

"A gentle Manciple was ther of a temple,
Of which *achatours* mighten take exemple,
For to be wys in beyyng of vitaille.
For whether that he payde, or took by taille,
Algate he wayted so in his *acate*,
That he was ay biforn and in good state."
—*Canterbury Tales.*

"The Mantuan, at his charges, him allowed
All fine *acates* that that same country bred."
—Harrington's *Orlando Furioso.*

In Henry the Eighth's household there was a sergeant of the Acatry whose duty was "to make provyson of freshe acates, as well for fleshe as for fishe."

g One of the greatest of the old English fairs was held at Stourbridge, on the banks of the Stour, a small rivulet close to the town of Cambridge. Before provincial towns had attained wealth and consequence, and when communication between them was difficult and dangerous, the necessaries of life could only be procured at stated times and fixed depôts. It was usual, therefore, to travel several hundred miles to a fair, to dispose of produce, and lay in stores of food and clothing for the ensuing year. The priories of Maxtoke, in Warwickshire, and Biester, in Oxfordshire, purchased their stores of wine, wax, salt, provisions, wheat, &c., at Stourbridge fair. From the Northumberland *Household Book*, we learn that the Earl's house at Wressil was supplied from the same place; and by the above we see that the Lord Deputy's table in Dublin was furnished with salt fish from Stourbridge fair. Tusser, in his *Husbandry*, says:—

"At Bartlemew tide or at Sturbridge fair,
Buie that is needful, thy house to repaire."

h This is correct, reckoning by the *long* hundred, according to the old English adage—

"Five score of men, money and pins,
Six score of all other things."

The old Teutonic hundred of six score is derived from the Scandinavian *tolfraed*, whence our word *twelve*, which converted ten into twelve, and one hundred into one hundred and twenty. By the statute 25 Henry VIII. Cap. 13. no person shall have above two thousand sheep on his lands; and the twelfth section (after reciting that the hundred in every country be not alike, some reckoning by the great hundred, or six score, and others by five score), declares that the number two thousand shall be accounted ten hundred for every thousand after the number of the great hundred, and not after the less hundred, so that every thousand shall contain twelve hundred after the less number of the hundred.

Old huberdame,[i] 100, at 1s. 4d. the couple, ...	4	0	0
Irish linges, 70 dosens, at 8s. the dosen, one with another, ...	43	0	0
Grene codd and drie codd, 140 dosen, at 4s. 6d. the dosen, ...	36	0	0
Sturgion, two keggs, at 16s. a peece, ...	1	12	0
White hearinges, 12 barrells, at 8s. a barrell, one with another, ...	4	16	0
Red hearinges, 3 cades, at 7s. le cade, and red spratts, 2 cades, at 2s. le cade, ...	1	5	0
Salte butter, 14 barrells, at £2 5s. a barrell, one with another, ...	31	10	0
Baye salte, 40 hh.[k] per ann., at 10s. le hh., one with another, ...	20	0	0
White salte, 6 barrells per ann., at 8s. le barrell, one with another, ...	2	8	0
Otemeal, 6 barrells per ann., at 8s. 4d. le barrell, ...	4	0	0
Vineger, 4 hoggesheades, at £2 13s. 4d. le hh., and verges[l] one hh., at £1 le hh.,	11	10	0
Hopps, 1,220 lbs., at £8[m] le hundred, one with another, ...	54	16	8
Spices of all sortes by the week, £1 6s. 8d. per ann., £69 6s. 8d., Alsoe banquettinge stuffe and sweet meates per ann., £10, in all, ..	79	6	8
Fruites for Sommer, as Apples, Peares, Plums, and Cherries, per. ann., ...	1	10	0
Clarret wyne 6 Tonnes per ann., at £18, le Tonne, ...	108	0	0
Sacke[n] two Tonnes demi per ann., at £28, le Tonne, ...	70	0	0

[i] Randle Home says:—"A Haberdine or Island [Iceland] fish, of some called Poor John, it is the worst sort of ling fish, though very often it doth pass for it, because it is of so near relation, and so much resembles it in colour and forme; it is by the Latins termed Asinus Piscis, Leopardus and Molus, because this fish is variously spotted." *Academy of Armory.*

Willughby, however, says that it was a cod fish and derived its name from the town of Aberdeen. "*The Cod* —Asellus Major Vulgaris (maxima Asellorum species), Piscis hic pro locis ubi capitur aut modis quibus salitur et induratur aliterve præparatur varia sortitur nomina. Hinc *Green-fish*, i.e. Asellus Groenlandicus; *North Sea Cod*, i.e. Oceani Septentrionalais Asellus; *Haberdeen*, i.e., Asellus Aberdonensis." "A lytill codde called habburdyn" is mentioned in the *Lestrange Household Accounts*. For my own part however, I have an idea that the haberdine was not a cod but a haddock, and that its name, instead of being derived from Aberdeen, was merely a corruption of *aigrefin*, the old French name of that fish.

At Sir John Neville's feast, when Sheriff of Yorkshire at the Lammas assizes, in 1529, three couple of great ling cost twelve shillings, and forty couple of huberdine, two pounds.

[k] Hogsheads.

[l] "Verguyce," Venner says, "is made of unripe grapes, or other unripe sower apples, is like vinegar in operation, saving that it is of a more cooling nature and, therefore, more agreeable for hot and cholerick bodies."—*Via Recta.* From the prevalence of scurvy, caused by eating salt provisions, vinegar and verjuice were actual necessaries of life in the olden time.

[m] Evidently an error. According to Harrison, hops, about the same period in England, cost from ten-pence to a shilling per pound. This price would come pretty near to the sum total as given in the estimate.

[n] There was no mention of Sack in Lord Grey's inventory. In fact the strong hot wines of the south of Europe did not come into fashion or general use in England, until nearly the close of the sixteenth century, consequently Shakespeare's representation of Falstaffe, and his roystering companions drinking Sack, in Henry the Fourth's time, is simply an anachronism. Not only in this, but in several other instances, the great dramatist attributed the customs

Sea coales 250 Tonnes per ann., at 5s. le Tonne, one with another, with 8d. for the carriage of everie Tonne, ...	79	3	4
Wood 78 Tonnes per ann., at 5s. le Tonne, with 8d., for the carriage of a tonne,	19	16	8
Porte wheate[o] for course wheate at 2s. 6d. le peck, as alsoe for fflower for the pastrie of 626 pecks of Porte measure amountinge in money to ...	84	10	0
Ffine wheate to be provided and bought in the markett, for fyne mannchetts for his owne Table, at 6s. le peck, one with another.	30	0	0
Alsoe wheate of the Porte for Head Corne, for 42 Brewings per ann., alloweing 2 pecks to everie Breweing, 84 pecks at 2s. 6d. le peck, ...	10	10	0
Beere Malte first to make 6 good Brewinges for Beer onelie for his lordshippe 30 Tonnes alloweing to everie Tonne pecks, ...			
N.B.—Besides 122 pecks of Oatemeale, 4 pecks Porte measure, at 2s. 6d. le peck, 122 pecks.	15	10	0
Beare Malte more for 36 Breweinges, for the housholde breweinge, 180 Tonnes allowinge to evrie 5 Tonnes 12 pecks statute measure, besides 32 pecks of Oatemeale to evry of the sayd 5 Tonnes, 430 peckes, at 2s. 6d. le peck, ...	54	0	0
Oat Malte, first for the 6 Brewinges, alloweinge to evrie Tonne, besides 4 pecks Beare Malte as aforesaid; Alsoe Oat Malte for the rest of 42 Breweinges, which commeth to 176 Tonne, alloweinge to evrie 5 Tonne 32 pecks statute measure at 1s. 8d. le peck	96	0	0
Ffor the chardges of cooprage for the said 200 Tonnes of Beere at 2s. 6d. evry Breweinge, ...	5	5	0
More for the hire of 2 laborers to helpe the brewer for 42 brewings at 3s. every breweinge, ...	6	6	0
Ffor the carriage and Breweinge of 205 Tonnes of beer p. ann., at 1s. 4d. le Tonne, Alsoe for the carriage and fetchinge of 205 Tonnes emptie casque at 2s. every Tonne, ...	17	16	4
Ffewel as Ffurres[p] and brushe bavens, had from Kilmanigham payeing onelie for cuttinge, carriage, and rickeing for the said 42 Breweinges, alloweing to every Breweinge 400 Ffaggotts—16,800 at 8d. every hundred cuttinge, and 7d. every hundred carriage, ...	8	6	0

of earlier periods and distant lands to his own time and country. Taylor, in his *Drink and Welcome*, published in 1637, tells us that:—"Sacke is second nature to man, and that the physitians knew when they confinde it to the apothecaries shops (which was till neere the end of King Henrie the Eight's Raigne, about the yeere 1543) till which time none but the apothecaries, had the honour to sell Sack, and that was onely for Medicine, and for sicke folkes; but, though now it be more dispersed into great men's houses and ventners' cellars, yet it hath obtained no absolute freedom to this day."

[o] Probably wheat purchased at market. A port sale signified a sale in open market.

[p] Furze.

More Ffurres and brushe ffaggottes for the bake, pastrey, and laundry 16,000 at like rates; Alsoe for sondreye necessaryes for housholde chardges per ann., as ffollowes:—Brushes, Bowes, Broomes, Tubbes, Payles, Fferists,[q] Drayes, Cloffes for jorneys, ryding chardges, removings, recorders for presents, with sondrey other extraordinarie disbursements, by estimacion, per ann., ...	100	0	0
Sum Totalis of the whole chardges of the house, ...	2215	15	4
Sum Totalis of all the chardges requisite to the Lorde Deputie's house, as well of household wages, lyveries, and table chardges arise unto per ann., ...	3344	0	4

The brewing account is scarcely comprehensible. I consulted a gentleman favourably known to the readers of this Journal on the matter, and he advised me to "print it accurately as it stands without note or comment," and I have done so. I have since, however, met with the following memorandum among the State Papers, which may probably throw some light on the subject. It is signed "H.S.," in all probability the initials of Henry Leckford, a commissary, whose name frequently appears in the Irish papers of the period; it is noted on the back in Lord Burleigh's handwriting, and though un-dated, was written about 1580:—

"Porte Corne payde yearly to the Ld. Deputie of Irelande in severall kindes, viz:—in Wheate, Beare Malt, and Ote Malt, Pecks 2,100.

"Of Wheate, Clean Corne, ...	Pecks,	700
Beare Malte, ...	Pecks,	466
Ote Malte, ...	Pecks,	932
Remayneth of the nomber to be devyded into 3 partes, ...	Pecks,	2
		2100

"The diversitie of measures of the severall Counties comenly caulyd the Inglishe Shyres to be consyderyd.

The Countie of Kylkenny, ... wheate the Peck, ...	Bushells, 4 Gallons, 32
The Countie of Kylkenny, ... Ote Malte the Peck, ...	Bushells, 8 Gallons, 64
The Porte of the Countie of Meath pecks,	
Wheate clean the Peck, ...	Bushells, 2, demye.
Beare Malte the Peck, ...	Bushells, 2, demye.
Ote Malte the Peck, ...	Bushells, 2, demye.

[q] Fire steels for striking a light with flint.

To make one Hogshead houshold Beare,

Beare Malte, ...	Demy Peck.
Ote Malte, ...	Pecks, 2.

To Make of the strongyst Beare,

Beare Malte, ...	One Peck.
Ote Malte, ...	One Peck."

It may scarcely be necessary, in order to place the above memorandum in a clearer point of view, to state, that according to it, in Kilkenny, the peck (port measure) of wheat contained four bushels or thirty-two gallons; and the peck of oat-malt, in the same county, contained eight bushels, or sixty-four gallons; while in Meath, the peck of either clean wheat, beare malt, or oat malt, contained two and a half bushels. Again half a peck of bear malt and two pecks of oat malt were used to brew a hogshead of household beer; while for the strongest beer, one peck of bear malt and one of oat malt were required. These it must be observed were "porte" pecks, and if we convert them into English measure, we find that a very similar quantity was used at the same period in England. The brewer of Viscount Montague[r] was ordered to make eighteen gallons of good wholesome beer out of every bushel of malt; and Arnold's *Chronicles* gives the following quantities:—

"To brewe Beer. Ten quarters of malte. Two quarters of wheete. Two quarters of oates, forty pound weyght of hoppys, to make sixty barrellys of sengyl beere; the barrell of ale conteynes thirty-two galones, and the barrell of beere thirty-six galones."

Harrison tells us that his wife, from eight bushels of malt, half a bushel of wheaten meal, and a half a bushel of oaten meal, brewed three hogsheads (189 gallons) "of good beer such as is meet for poor men." Thus we see that not only barley malt and oaten malt were used in brewing, but also wheaten and oaten meal, long after hops had come into general use. Venner, in his *Via Recta* thus discusses the question:—

"Whether Beer made of Barley malt be better and wholesomer than that which is made of Barley and Oaten malt in equall portions mixed together, or of two or three parts of Barley malt, with one of Oaten? To which, I answer, that whereas, the ende of the use of drinke is four-fold:—

1.—To quench the thirste;

2.—To temper the naturall heat;

3.—To moisten the inward parts;

4.—To help the concoction and distribution of the meats;

That Beer made of Barley and Oaten malt mixed together doth more effectually accomplish the first three, without any manner of hindrance unto the fourth, and also is of a more lively

[r] Sussex Archæological Collections.

taste, if it be kept untouched till it hath got sufficient staleness. Whereuppon I may well affirme that Beer made of Barley and Oaten malt mingled together, is better than that which is made of Barley malt alone. A meetely large draught of stale beer, of an indifferent good strength, taken in the morning fasting, or a little before meales, with a little fine sugar in it, exhilarateth the heart, cleanseth the stomach and blood, and expelleth melancholy, and at such times, thus used profitteth more than wine."

Bishop Hall, however, in his *Satires*, speaks depreciatingly of Oaten beer:—

> "What tho' he quaff pure amber in his bowl
> Of March brewed wheat, yet slakes my thirsting soul
> With palish oat, frothing in Boston clay."

W. Pinkerton.

LETTER FROM PROFESSOR ADOLPHE PICTET, OF GENEVA.

To the Editor of the Ulster Journal of Archæology.

Dear Sir,—It is with much satisfaction that I have learned from you the favourable reception given by scholars in Ireland to my *Origines Indo-Européennes*, and I am hence led to hope that some impulse may be given by this work to studies which promise to throw light on the primitive history of our race. Ireland, which may be henceforth considered as united with certainty to the great Indo-European family of nations, will no doubt contribute her quota to the task of reconstructing this history of our common ancestors,—a work beset with difficulties, and which can only be accomplished by many united efforts. The importance of the Celtic group of languages in assisting to attain this object in a complete manner cannot be estimated too highly; and, among these languages, the Irish unquestionably holds the first place, from the richness of its vocabulary and the antiquity of its written monuments. Unfortunately, however, one serious want is felt, which it would be important to supply as soon as possible. Ireland does not possess a single dictionary of her language such as the science of philology at present requires. It is on this subject, Sir, that I ask permission to make a few observations, with the view of drawing the attention of your countrymen to this great *desideratum* for the future progress of the science.

The Irish dictionary of O'Reilly, which is considered as the least defective of those published, is so, nevertheless, to a great extent. Although it may be an exaggeration to say, as one very good judge does say, that the half of the words which it contains are a "*mere sham*," it is, at all